l:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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sun god, and the various *dewatas*, is erected. The so-called *widi-widana* offerings are made to them.

The candidate priest inquires of his wives which of them are willing to follow him into the priestly class, since he must divorce those who are not. Often it is not until shortly before his consecration that the priest-to-be marries his chief wife, who must be of equal birth; in that case the consecration ceremony is to be preceded by the ceremony of filing her teeth. According to the *Siwasasana*, a priest without a chief wife may not lead an offering where there is a *sanggar tawang*, a bamboo offering platform with three compartments for the Hindu trinity. Such a priest is called 'a mountain that does not enjoy the protection of a deity'.

Before the twentieth century a candidate never officially requested his mentor for consecration without first having ascertained that the ruler approved of his becoming a priest.

7

The Request

In the early morning of the day of consecration the *apipinton* ceremony takes place in the *pěměrajan*, the household temple. In this ceremony the pupil and his master gaze steadfastly at one another; this is the last time until the end of the solemnities that the pupil may look upon his mentor. At this time he also gives the *punyakěrti* and the *jauman* to his *guru*. The *punyakěrti* consists of a new set of clothing, a complete bed, a set of cushions, a parasol, and the priestly wage. The *jauman* comprises cooked and raw food, the adoption offering, eggs, coconuts, the six-part glutinous-rice offering, rice pastry, and various delicacies such as steamed rice with chopped coconut and red sugar, biscuits, and sugar pastry.

With these gifts the pupil presents himself to his mentor and begs him for his paternal love. His official request runs more or less as follows:

> Exalted *guru*, *siwa*, master among the yogis, grant the request I make of you in all humility. It is true that what I offer you is a trifle, and what I ask of you is incomparably great, for it is nothing less than your love that

l:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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are forbidden to work in the *sawahs*,[9] though they obtain a large share of the yield from the abundant, excellent farmland. The *desa* members receive their crop share from their *pěnyakaps*, people of Kěstala, Gumung, and neighbouring *desas*. The inbreeding is the result of the nearly total endogamy and the preference to marry within one's own class and family.

Reference should also be made to abuses in the sexual field. The first impression in this regard is one of extreme strictness and soberness. But prolonged engagements plus the custom of allowing young men to hold an erotic feast with women from outside the *desa* once a year have contributed no small amount to the spread of venereal diseases. I was informed in strict confidence of several serious cases of neglected syphilis, and there was great diffidence when I referred them to the government physician at Karangasěm. (A survey made in 1929 showed that at that time there was not much venereal disease.)

As far as I could trace, the population is tending to decrease.[10] This seems to me all the more regrettable because the Těnganan-anese have a definite understanding of hygiene (though one would not think it on viewing the accumulation of rubbish in various places). There are bathing places on every side of the village, some of them hewn with great care in the banks of the Panděk River.

Persons suffering from certain contagious diseases are banished from the village to the so-called *alas těben*, the low-lying woods on the border with Pasědahan, where they are left almost entirely to their fate. On asking what such people should live from I was answered that they could eat whatever they wanted to if they looked after it themselves, but a visit to the spot proved to me that nothing would grow there. The result is that the isolated persons disappear after a time and are never heard of again: a cheap method of caring for the ill. Among the persons isolated in this way are not only lepers (who, in fact, are nowadays well cared for in the leper colony at Bugbug), but also persons suffering from skin diseases, for instance *abong*, a sort of scabies, and similar afflictions that are probably not even contagious. In Těnganan as elsewhere on Bali, the care for such sick persons is entrusted to,

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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628 villagers, and the elderly people in Tĕnganan still refer with
702 aversion to the expedition the ruler of Karangasĕm sent to the aid of Mĕngwi, which had been attacked by Badung and other realms. Military service was not restricted to the persons required to render soccage service: every able-bodied man in the village was called up. The boys, too, were given a task: that of bringing up provisions for the warriors. It hardly need be said that such military expeditions were little to the taste of the stay-at-home Tĕngananese, and there was a strong tendency to evade service. Provisions in the village constitution indicate, however, that the men who stayed behind will not have had too pleasant a time of it at home.

778 A more recent service incumbent on Tĕnganan is to be found in
628 the regulation for the maintenance of the *pura pĕnataran* of Bukit, the southern gate and the *gaduh* of which temple fall under the care of Tĕnganan together with the *desas* of Sĕngkidu, Mĕndira, Bĕwitan, Apityeh, Sĕlumbung, and Ulakan.

When Karangasĕm came under the direct rule of the Netherlands East Indies authorities and services consequently were reorganized, the regional head appointed a *pĕrbĕkĕl* for Tĕnganan together with Pasĕdahan, Dauh Tukad, Bukit, and Gumung. (Strangely enough, Kĕstala was placed under Bĕbandĕm, and Pĕkarangan under Ngis.)

628 The Tĕngananese maintain lively contact with the area from which their ancestors came, Bedahulu (which sends several *mangkus* to attend certain festivities in the *bale agung* at Tĕnganan every Kalima), and with the Bratanese in Buleleng. The few data published on the latter group of *Bali-agas* unquestionably indicate a close relationship with the Tĕngananese. Van Bloemen Waanders states that the Bratanese may not farm or trade, that they have only one language, Low Balinese, that they bury their dead
[582] rather than cremating them, and that endogamy prevails among them, marriage of members of the two lowest of the four classes with women of the two highest classes originally having been prohibited (though that prohibition has since lost its validity as a result of the decline in population).[1]

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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535 boys overcomes his shyness, walks up to his favourite girl when
883 her turn comes again, and takes his place in a stately dance. If she is pleased, she will continue to dance with him until the bar

[292]

The Abuang

of music is over, but if she dislikes the boy, she leaves the floor and goes back into line while the crowd laughs at the rejected suitor.

582 565 Marriage restrictions are peculiar in Tenganan; their isolationist law allows no one to marry outside the village, and even there only within certain rules as to family and caste. There was, for instance, the daughter of the priest who was already past marriageable age, but who could not find a husband since there were no unmarried men of her class. This continual inbreeding perhaps accounts for the decadent and aristocratic type of the people. A [684] Tenganan who marries outside the village or breaks one of their taboos is thrown out of the village; such exiles have formed a small village of their own just outside the main gate, but they are never again admitted into the mother community.

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ance of India. But the common people take for granted the divine superiority of the aristocracy and are so thoroughly accustomed to arrogance that they submit to the demands of caste etiquette as a matter of duty.

By far the most strict of social taboos is that on intermarriage. A man may marry any woman he wishes as long as she is of equal or lower caste, but under no circumstances may a low-caste man marry a woman of a higher class. For such a man even to have relations with a woman of the royal or priestly castes was a crime punished in olden times by the death of both; the woman perhaps stabbed by a member of her disgraced family, the man thrown into the sea in a weighted sack, the most degrading of deaths. Today punishment is simply exile of the guilty couple to the wilds of Djembrana or the little penal island of Nusa Penida. But like everything else in Bali, special concessions can be made if the difference of castes is not very great and the man is influential; in some cases the affair has been settled by fines, annulment of the marriage, or a special edict raising the man's caste.

ETIQUETTE

Despite strict caste regulations, the code of etiquette is simple and reasonable; a general air of frankness and friendliness prevails in daily intercourse, and it is only in the presence of an arrogant prince that the common man has to humiliate himself; even more polite treatment is given to a high priest. From the beginning a stranger is struck by the extreme politeness and gentle manners, even in the lower classes. The strongest criticism that can be made of a person is that he has no manners. Such a freak should be avoided.

One is greeted on the road with the words: "*Lungga kidja*, Where to?" and a visitor is welcomed with: "*Wau rauh*, Just arrived." These are formulas not to be taken in their literal sense. A visitor takes leave by asking to be excused: "*Tiang pamit*," the answer to which is simply "Yes," "*Ingé*." There are no other words for greeting or for good-bye. It is not polite to answer a

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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family, to his community, and to the total of the Balinese people in a relationship that represents race and nationality to them. A woman who marries a Chinese, a Mohammedan, or a European automatically ceases to be a Balinese.

A Balinese feels that his most important duty is to marry as soon as he comes of age and to raise a family to perpetuate his line. A bachelor is in Bali an abnormal, incomplete being devoid of all social significance since only settled married men can become members of the village association. Even pedandas, the high priests, do not conform to the ascetic abstention favoured by orthodox Hindus and invariably marry.

Thus every Balinese centres all his hopes in having children, preferably male children, who will look after him in his old age, and, most important of all, sons who will take the proper care of his remains after he is dead, performing the necessary rites to liberate his soul for reincarnation, so it will not become an aimless wandering ghost. From paintings and temple reliefs, they are familiar with the fate that awaits the childless in Hades, the *swarga*, where a woman who dies without children is condemned to carry a gigantic worm suckling at her useless breasts. A man who does not obtain children from his wife has the right to divorce her and get back the money he paid for her; or if she dies or runs away, he remarries as soon as possible. Often the sterile wife will herself suggest and even provide for a second wife for her husband. There are, however, many childless couples that because of personal attachment or for economic reasons remain monogamous and are content to borrow or rather be given a child by a neighbour or a relative to bring up as their own.

CHILDBIRTH

To follow the development of their sexual life we shall begin the cycle of birth, childhood, adolescence, marriage, and birth again, with the event of pregnancy, a great blessing to every Balinese household.

Most people we talked to had a quite correct idea of the physi-

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perform in the systematic village magic: the care of divine heir- looms too dangerous for less pure people to handle. Conse- quently, in the strict communities of the Bali Aga, sexual licence on the part of a boy or girl is a crime against the village magic and is proportionately punished.

This is not the case, however, among the ordinary Balinese villages, where boys and girls lead a freer sexual life. There mat- ters of sex are not solemn, mysterious prohibitions, and it is nat- ural that in coming of age they should continue to have sexual relations that started in the character of play, incompletely of course, during childhood.

The average Balinese does not attach great importance to virginity and it is not difficult for a divorcee, a widow, or even a woman who has committed adultery to marry again. Low- caste girls have many occasions to meet boys and often carry on affairs, kept secret because of natural shyness. The Balinese are extremely discreet in their intimate relations; lovers are never seen together in public, and it would be unpardonable manners for a man to make insinuations to a girl in public. It is not un- usual for girls to take the lead and " make eyes " (*saling sulang*) at boys, or give encouragement to a shy suitor with some sort of small present.

Girls of high caste are usually chaperoned and their chances of meeting boys are considerably fewer. For the princes, whose mentality is more " Oriental " than that of the less prejudiced average Balinese, a virgin (*gentan*, in the absolute sense of the word) is highly desirable. Where feudalism still holds sway, a prince may order a subject of his to reserve his pretty daughter for him when she comes of age, and there are cases of Satrias and Brahmanas who kidnapped a girl of their own caste immediately after the first menstruation. Such cases are shocking to most Balinese, however, and there are rules and penalties against pre- mature marriages. In general, the average marriageable age is eighteen for boys and sixteen for girls. A noble Balinese friend once told me that he could tell a virgin at first sight from the

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although he may try to bring her back by force. In any case she has to return the money dowry.

The divorce is performed by the village authorities (in whose judgment the case rests) by slight ceremonies, the most important of which is the breaking of a "yellow" *kepeng* (*pipis kuning*) by the husband and wife, to represent, perhaps, the breaking of the magic circle (completeness) of marriage.

Outside of caste and incest[9] taboos, there are no great marriage restrictions in Bali and there seems to be no objection to marriage with cousins, divorcees, a woman thrown out by her husband, and even with widows, against whom there was once revulsion on the part of the nobility, due to the now defunct institution of *mesatia* (suttee), by which the widows of a prince had to follow their dead master into the spirit world. A widow may marry when and whom she pleases as long as she has the permission of her family, her relatives-in-law, and her son, or of her own relatives if she has returned to her ancestral home. Marriage of a Balinese woman with foreigners — people of another race or religion — is permitted, although by the marriage the woman loses the right to be called a Balinese — again an emphasis on the importance of ancestral relations.

[9] There is first- and second-degree incest. It is first-degree incest for a man to have relations with his mother, sister, half-sister, or the mother of his half-brother or sister. Second-degree incest is relations with aunts or with his father's or mother's cousins. Jane Belo: "A Study of a Balinese Family." *The American Anthropologist*, Vol. 38, No. 1.

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the *rajă* (*mamadă rajă dalĕm*) to have children in this way. 845*

But Sukawană is a Bali-agă village, where the Hindu religion has never quite penetrated, where no high caste people have ever lived, and every man is born the equal of his fellow. I Lèwèr, the father of the Sukawană twins, said he was pleased when they were born, as a father always is to get a child. But his pleasure was offset and counterbalanced by the great trouble of their being boy and girl, for that meant a big expense to him. At the *mĕcharu* for the purification of the village he must provide a *kĕbo* (water-buffalo), a calf, and a pig to be sacrificed. The many offerings which must be made, the quantities of rice and coconuts and fowls would be at his expense, except for the contributions of his fellow-members in the Balé Agung. The village law decrees that each man must help the poor (*lachur*) father with gifts according to his means, but all that is not given falls to the share of the father, and he alone is responsible for the complete array of the offerings. I Lèwèr also loses his house, already torn down, for at the end of the forty-two days the *kubu* constructed from its materials must be burned to the ground. And all his possessions, his mats, his clothes, and those of his wife, must be burned also, or cast away into the river, so that nothing may remain which has been connected with the uncleanness of the birth of the twins.

But I Lèwèr was not ashamed. He said: "I am troubled (*sĕbĕt*), but I am not ashamed (*lĕk*)". He knew only that the big ceremony must take place to avert disaster from the village. He opened his eyes wide with surprise when we asked if he had heard that this was the Rajă's way to have children. "No", he answered, "I have never heard it".

We asked if people say that the twins are already married in the womb of the mother. I Lèwèr answered, "I do not know". And the old men sitting by said: "How can they, they are so small!"

But it was known in the village that if both children survived, they might, if they so wished when they grew up, marry each other.

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*845 184 In nearly all the villages studied the birth of twins of like sex, two boys or two girls, is not *manak salah*, does not require banishment of the family nor special ceremonies of any kind. Exceptions are the old villages of Lumbuan, Bu'ungan, and Taro, where certain ceremonies are prescribed, and Trunyan and Kětèwèl [1]), where the twins and their parents are also banished from the village. Such twins are called *anak kĕmbar*, whether or not they are considered a bad sign.

*845 184 564 580 [787] Although according to some lontars only members of the ruling Satryă or Wésyă family, and the families of Brahman priests, escape being branded *manak salah* if they bring forth boy and girl twins, and although a Bulèlèng lontar states it to be a bad sign for people of all the four castes, in nearly all the villages of South Bali it is only considered a bad sign if Jabă [2]) (ordinary people, Sudra's) have twins who are a boy and a girl, and a good sign if Triwangsă (people of Brahman, Satryă or Wésyă caste) have such twins. They are called *anak kĕmbar bunching* [3]), which means "twins bride and bridegroom". Among ordinary people it is known that such twins may marry. Everywhere I was told this, by all sorts of people. But a Brahman scholar and holy man, Idă Putu Maron of Ubud, stated that Jabă twins may not marry each other, because they are *salah* [4]). On the other hand, it is a very good sign if high caste twins marry each other.

*845 [554] 184 580 In the present generation of the princely Chokordă family of Ubud there are such twins who did not marry each

[1]) In Kětèwèl a special reason exists. See later, page 528.

[2]) According to estimate the Jabă are 94%, the Triwangsă 6%, of the population of Bali. The population is supposed to be approximately a million.

[3]) VAN DER TUUK's Dictionary has *buñching* = bride and bridegroom. Note also that current high Balinese for "to marry" is *mĕkaryă pĕbunchingan*.

[4]) Although the Balinese are supposed to follow the dictates of the Hindu priests, it often happens that the common people go their own way without consulting the priest. When they are at variance with the Hindu custom as strictly held by the Triwangsă, the priest excuses them, saying paternally, "They do not know". [183]

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other, because, the boy said, if he had married his sister he would not have been allowed to take any other wives, and although he was pleased with her, he did not care to commit himself to having only one spouse throughout his life.

In Batuan twins of a "small Satryă" family, whose titles are Déwă Gĕdé and Déwă Ayu, married each other and were happy for two years. Then a powerful man of higher rank (Satryă caste, Chokordă) stole away Déwă Ayu from her twin-husband. Both the young twin-husband and the father of the twins seemed distressed at this arbitrary breaking of the intended order.

These twins were brought up in the same house. But people often say that it is better if the children can be separated when they are small, so that they will be pleased to wed when they meet again at the marriageable age. A member of the Sĕngguhu caste (classed as Jabă, but on account of their priestly functions often considering themselves as good as Brahmans) told me that the twins should be placed as far apart as possible, for instance one in Bulèlèng and one in Badung (Dèn Pasar). He said "When twins are a boy and a girl, it is called *manak salah*, and people say that the boy brings his wife with him out of the womb, and therefore is like a god. The village in which it occurs becomes unclean, the subsequent *galungan* may not be celebrated in the village. Afterward the largest *mĕcharu* must be held to purify the village before it can take part in the *galungan* festivals. The people of the village are very angry when such twins are born.

"But the mother and the father are very pleased. The legend (*chĕrită*) is that this boy must become king, since he has brought his wife out of the womb, like the kings of old.

"After the time of banishment and the purification, the boy and the girl are separated while they are still very small, and placed in houses as far apart as possible, as in Bulèlèng and in Badung. When they have reached the marriageable age, they are brought together and married to one another. It is hoped if the legend comes true and the boy becomes king the wife will bring him power over

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the far-away land where she was reared, and all the land between

"But it is a very rare occurrence that such twins live. Usually either the boy or the girl, or both, die at an early age, and often even the parents die". —

Unfortunately this charming version of the separation is not true all over Bali. Not one of the parents of Jabă twins whom we questioned had heard that this was "to have children like the kings of old". They knew only that it was a bad sign, and a costly one to them. Since it is impossible for a Jabă to become king, and has always been so, the explanation is one which would only occur to the imagination of a proud Sĕngguhu. Later it will be shown to what extent Sĕngguhu's consider themselves exempt from the taboos imposed on all Jabă twins.

In Nyèstanan, a village near Ubud, Jabă twins born twelve years ago were separated by the adoption of the boy into a household in the same village. A year afterward the woman who had taken the boy died suddenly. This was a bad sign. The boy was returned to his parents, for no one else would take him. Now the boy and girl, who are near puberty, state most vigorously that they do not wish to marry each other, since they were brought up as brother and sister.

J. de Vroom, writing more than sixty years ago, mentions as an old custom of forgotten times that *kĕmbar bunching* had to marry each other [1]). I did not find one person, Padandă, prince, or ordinary man, who stated that such marriage was compulsory.

Mr. de Vroom reports also that people say *kĕmbar salah* mostly die. It is curious that in seven cases I investigated one or both twins died before the period of banishment was over. In Taro boy and girl twins have been born three times in the past two years, to unrelated families. In each case the girl has died.

In connection with the frequently reported death of twins

[1]) J. DE VROOM, *Aanteekening uit eene Balische Adversaria. Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, Batavia, Vol. XVIII.

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each locality, itself the child of an incestuous union of brother and sister). We do not know the child of the *ampasit*. A twin should marry a twin. If another person not a twin marries a twin, the *ampasit* will become angry and kill him" [1]). Such a belief, although not directly related to that found in Bali, is interesting in the suggestion which it offers of a perhaps similarly primitive belief existing in the primitive Bali, which might have been later overlayed by the Hindu concepts. If this were true all twins would originally have been objects of superstition. Yet most intelligent Balinese attribute the taboo directly to Hindu-Javanese influence. The lontars definitely state that "it is an affront to the king — *mamadă Rajă Dalĕm*". But much evidence points to an earlier fear of twins. Why do we find in four old-style Bali-agă villages twins of like sex considered bad, and only in one Hinduized village, where the special reason of twin ancestor gods exists to explain the unusual taboo? (Kĕtèwèl, see p. 528). Why are there bizarre elaborations of the rite in old villages? [2]) Why

[1]) Moss, *Nabaloi Law and Ritual*. University of California Publications in American Archeology and Ethnology, Vol. XV, p. 273.

[2]) Such elaborations, for instance, as thrice burning the *kubu*, and the use of the *pusuh* as a substitute for the dead twin in Sukawanâ. Also, in a case of twins recently in Sĕlulung, the following rite, which was witnessed and related to me by Walter Spies: A *pusuh* was again used as substitute for one of the twins which had died, and when the crowd of villagers went down to the river not only the *pusuh* but the mother and the father and the remaining twin were cast into the stream (*anyudang*). This took place at a *champuh*, or meeting of rivers, and a dam had been constructed across the stream just below where the two rivers came together. The father, the mother holding the child, the *pusuh*, with various *cholong's*, coconuts, etc., were cast in the water above the dam, and then the dam was broken up, so that with a rush of water all were carried some little way downstream. Below this were stationed some fifteen men armed with spears, who with much shouting and excitement tried to pierce the *cholong's* and coconuts as they swept past.

Still another barbaric custom is that prescribed in Tĕnganan, when, after the parents of twins have been driven out of the village, their house is stoned by the villagers. See Dr. Korn's transcription of the *Awig-awig Dèsă* in *De Dorpsrepubliek Tnganan Pagringsingan*, Santpoort 1933, p. 245.

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It was forbidden by the Rajäs, but as the people were under the rule of different Rajäs, the customs differ. 845* 184

"If the girl is born before the boy, of twins born to a Rajä, they may not marry, for she is older. Therefore it is not *salah* for the Jabä if the girl is born before the boy. 582

"Perhaps the custom arose because once a Rajä had boy and girl twins which were lucky, and once a Jabä had such twins which were unlucky. Superstition arises when people are afraid".

This young man, so superior to the superstition of the people, still admits that Jabä are *salah* if they have male and female twins of which the boy is born first. On this point he is in agreement with Idä Putu Maron, a Brahman scholar of Ubud, who said: "It is only called *bunching* if the boy is born first. If the girl is born first it is called simply *këmbar*. In this case it is not a good sign for the Triwangsä, nor is it *salah* for the Jabä. But the people do not know this. They proceed with the purification of the village just as if it were *salah*.

"There was once in the ancient Pèjèng dynasty a Rajä who was a twin. He is called Dalëm Bunching. After this, the Rajä's, to enforce their power, ordered the Jabä to be *salah* when they had twins in the way of the Rajä. This was to make the people humble." 845* 173 539

When we asked this informant about the twins' sexual connection in the womb, he said that he had never heard such a thing, but perhaps it was told the people by the Rajä's to make them ashamed, so that they would realize how *salah* they were. 845* 184

Although Idä Putu Maron applies the name *bunching* only to twins of which the boy is born first, we have seen that it is generally applied to all male and female twins. But according to the lontars of Sanur and of Tabanan *bunching* is the name when the girl is born first, whereas if the boy is first it is called *silih asih*. The old men of Taro also said *bunching* if the girl is born first, and *salit* if the boy is first. The Padandä Gëdé of Bongkasä also calls it *silih asih* if the boy is born first, saying that it is 845* 195 184

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Rendah has one wife, Rieh, who has borne him nine children. Three of these died in infancy. His eldest, a girl, he has just given in marriage to her paternal parallel second cousin, the eldest son of Gari, Rendah's own paternal parallel cousin (fig. 1, I). This girl, Tingglih, has "followed her husband," and now lives across the street in the house of her father-in-law Gari. Only five children remain in Rendah's house.

Rendah himself was one of eight children, also borne to his father by one wife (fig. 2, II). The children, in the order of their birth, receive title-names, as follows:

Wajan—First-born
Madé—Second-born
Njoman—Third-born
Ketoet—Fourth-born.

If there are more than four children the series begins over again, and the fifth child is Wajan, the sixth Madé, etc. Every djabă must have one of these title-names, which precedes his given name. The given name is chosen by a system of divination through fire, from a group of names suitable to a child born on a certain day of the astrological calendar. It is rarely used, except to children and to inferiors in age and in social status. To use the title-name is always more polite, and compulsory for inferiors in age and in social status. Thus Rendah, although he is the eldest son, was the fourth-born of his family. He is called Ketoet by his equals, or I Ketoet Rendah when they are speaking about him, to distinguish him from other Ketoets. After the birth of his first child he is called 'Pan Tingglih,[1] father of Ting-

[1] 'Pan is the abbreviation of bapan, from bapă, father, with the possessive -n. In certain mountain districts the old word 'nang, shortened from nanang, father, is used. Similarly bibi for mother or aunt, is sometimes found instead of the usual mémé. On the island of Noesă Penidă, belonging to Bali but with a distinctive dialect, bibi and bébé are in use for mother and aunt as well as mémé, and maman for paternal or maternal uncle, reserving nanang for the biological father. In Balinese classical literature paman is used for uncle and as a familiar form of address to older men (as a young prince speaking to his father's minister). In Malay paman may be used in the latter way, though its original meaning is maternal uncle. Iboe, mother, and jajah or adji, father, occur also in the literature. Iboe and adji are current high Balinese, and biang, mother, is found among high-caste people used as a title-name. Keramă is another old form for mother, found in the texts. Kaki, grandfather, appears in the literature more often than the current pekak. Nini and néné, old forms for grandmother, are rarely found outside the texts. Nini is still in use as the name for the rice-goddess of the harvest ritual, although apparently not universally known.

Koeranan is used for both husband and wife. The words moewani, male, and loeh, female, are commonly substituted in low Balinese for husband and wife. In high Balinese they are lanang, male, and istri, female; istri has come to have a more definite meaning of wife, although high-caste Balinese have many different words, as rabi, wife, prami swari, consort (of

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The second sister, Madé Njambléh, was given in marriage to the son of her father's male paternal cousin (fig. 1, II).

The third sister died at ten years.

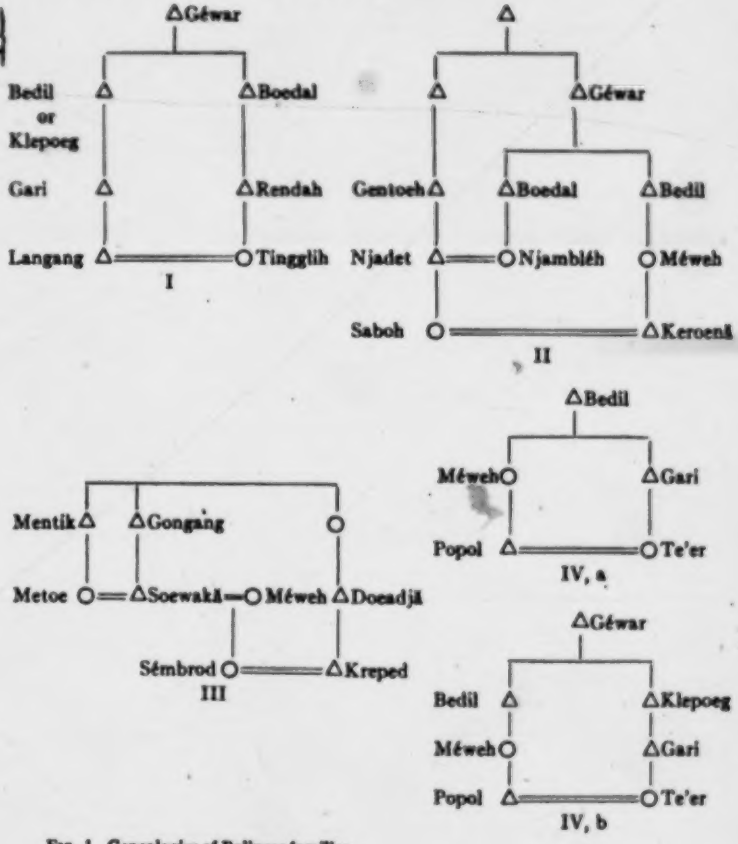

FIG. 1. Genealogies of Balinese families.

After Rendah came the fifth child, a boy, Wajan Mertä. This boy, on his marriage, moved out of his father's courts, and set up a household for himself farther down the road (see map, fig. 3). Thus he left Rendah, as

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the girl gives up her own family and her ancestor gods for those of her husband.

Soewakā was the son of a man whose elder brother had no male child, but a daughter. Soewakā married as a sentanā this daughter, Metoe, who was his paternal parallel first cousin. Her father was then to him father-in-law, uncle, and adopted father (fig. 1, III).[4] Soewakā lived in the house of his father-in-law and later inherited it. Soewakā had only one child by Metoe, a daughter. He then took a second wife, who was Méweh (eldest daughter of Bedil and paternal parallel cousin of Rendah), and had by her five children, two of whom have married back into the family which concerns us here (fig. 2, IV).

It is customary, and considered more suitable, for a man who takes a second wife to provide her with a house of her own, so that the two wives, at least during the early years, will not have to live in too close proximity.[5] Soewakā built for Méweh what is called a koeboe, an informal sort of house, set out in the ricefields, not within the circumscribed limits of the village. Here Méweh still lives, although her children are grown up and married. With her are her second son, Tèmplok, with his wife and two

[4] A Balinese states the custom for choosing a sentanā: "Take the family nearest on the male side, and if there is none [no son], only then can he be taken from the female side" (Ida Bagoes Hadipta, in an article on ancient adat in Bhāwanāgara, Nos. 4–5, 1933, p. 73).

[5] Household and dependents of Soewakā:

"Town house"
- Soewakā
- Metoe — his first wife
- Popol — youngest son of Soewakā by his second wife
- Te'er — wife of Popol
- child of Popol and Te'er
- Sampring — mother of Metoe

Koeboe No. 1
- Méweh — second wife of Soewakā
- Tèmplok — son of Soewakā and Méweh
- Kébek — wife of Tèmplok
- 2 children of Tèmplok and Kébek
- Poepoel — son of Soewakā and Méweh

Koeboe No. 2
- Loe'ed — daughter of Soewakā by Metoe (first wife)
- Gemoeh — husband of Loe'ed
- 6 children of Gemoeh and Loe'ed.

The total is twenty people, eleven adults and nine children, living in the three houses, but receiving their share of the common rice supply, kept in the "town house." Soewakā, and all the young men of the three households, work the ricefields which he inherited from Metoe's father.

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595 children, and her third son, Poepoel, who is unmarried. Her youngest son,
591 Popol, lives with his wife and child in the "town house" with his father and
Metoe. Metoe's daughter Loe'ed lives with her husband and her six children
592 in another koeboe also on her father's land, for the husband is poor and landless, and glad to work his father-in-law's fields in return for his share of the crop. (He is not a sentană, as Méweh has sons enough to carry on the line. Such a working relationship is called silih, which has the meaning of borrowing or repaying a debt, in friendly exchange.) Soewakă says that all these people, that is the two wives with all their children, sons- and daughters-in-law, and grandchildren (with the exception of the daughter Sémbrod and the son Keroenă), and including also the old mother of Metoe, all these people "get rice at his house." But those who live in the koeboes cook it in their own houses. Here the term which was used for the de-
592 pendence of Dog in Rendah's house, ngerob, does not apply, for although they share the crop, they do not share a kitchen. Nevertheless Metoe's portion, which came to Soewakă as sentană, has sufficed to maintain his entire second family, as well as Metoe's daughter, with her husband and six children.

591 Keroenă, the eldest son of Soewakă and Méweh, also became a sentană.
608 He married Saboh, the only daughter of Njadet and Njambléh. Njambléh
● 582 is his mother's paternal parallel cousin, and Njadet the son of his mother's father's paternal parallel cousin (fig. 1, II). It will be remembered that Njadet and Njambléh were the children of paternal parallel cousins (p. 16).

The youngest son of Méweh, Popol, has married his maternal cross-cousin, Te'er, the daughter of Gari (fig. 1, IV, a). But this description, though biologically true, does not quite fit the case. Gari, born the brother of Méweh, was adopted at the age of three months by a childless uncle, Klepoeg. He became, then, by adoption, Méweh's paternal parallel cousin, instead of her brother. The marriage of Popol and Te'er is to be considered socially as another marriage of the children of paternal parallel cousins (fig. 1, IV, b).

582 There is one more child of Méweh who concerns us here, the daughter
611 Sémbrod, who married the son of her father's male paternal cross-cousin (fig. 1, III). Her case differs from that of her brother Popol, in that her relation to her husband sprang from an original cross-cousinship, carried through a parallel phase in the second generation; and Popol's relation to his wife (considered socially) sprang from an original parallel cousinship, carried through a cross phase in the second generation. Note that the description of Sémbrod's case holds true whether she is considered as the

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child of the line of Gongang, Soewakă's own father, or of the line of Mentik, father of Metoe, who became Soewakă's social and religious father when Soewakă married Metoe as a sentană. It is impossible for a Balinese to state definitely to which line Sembrod belongs, as she calls both Mentik and Gongang pekak, grandfather, just as she calls all her uncles bapă, father. Even Rendah, who is her mother's cousin, she calls bapă. That is why the matter of inheritance is significant in tracing the emphasis of kinship, for it is only after the fact of succession to property that one can be sure where the emphasis lies. In this particular family, of Metoe-Soewakă-Méweh, complicated by the sentană marriage on one side and the ordinary marriage on the other, we shall have to await Soewakă's death to see what transpires. One can only note probabilities from the present distribution of the family in the three houses, the "town house," and the two koeboes in the fields (cf. fn. 5 and fig. 2, IV). Metoe's only daughter Loe'ed did not marry a sentană, as might have been expected, although her husband is a poor man. They do not live in the town house, but in a koeboe of their own on Soewakă's land. There is no chance of their inheriting the town house, since succession does not go through daughters. Probably they will inherit a tenantry right to a portion of the ricefields. Méweh's eldest son, Keroenă, married as a sentană into the family of Njadet, and therefore has no further claim on his own family, but will inherit from Njadet. He is already pengajă, member of the village council, for that household, because Njadet has become too deaf to fulfill his functions. Méweh's second son, Tèmplok, lives with his mother in her koeboe, and he is pengajă for that household. Poepoel, the third son, also lives there. Probably either Tèmplok or Poepoel will inherit that house, perhaps share it. In any case they have no chance for the town house, as they are intermediate sons. The daughter Sembrod is now a member of her husband's family and can expect nothing from her father's estate. This leaves Popol, Méweh's youngest son, who would seem to be the logical heir to the town house. As we should expect, we find him living there with his father and his co-mother Metoe, ready to take over the rights on the death of his father.

Let us go back now two generations to the family of Géwar, where we find another curious case of inheritance, not conjecture this time, but accomplished fact (fig. 2, I). It will be remembered that Géwar had five sons who served as parakans of the local prince. He lived in the house marked 2 on the map. His eldest son, Bedil, after his marriage, lived in house 3, and the second son, Boedal, in house 4 (which is now Rendah's). It was the third son, Klepoeg, who inherited the paternal house, No. 2.

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received swings back and forth through the generations. But all the same, when quarrels arise, the present government has difficulty in settling the ownership of property to which one man may hold the deed,[6] whereas another has been farming it and paying the taxes on it for ten or fifteen years.

In the case of Rendah and his two surviving brothers, the ricefields of their father are supposed to have been divided between them. Rendah, as the eldest, claims to have got a larger share than Mertă and Dog. Now Mertă maintains a separate household, whereas Dog lives in the house of Rendah, and has no child (except the daughter of Rendah whom he has adopted). Rendah says that two-thirds of the land belongs to him, but that as the land is all lumped together, and worked chiefly by Mertă and Dog, they divide the crops between the two households, that of Mertă and that of Rendah, which includes Dog. Rendah's household consists of six adults and five children, Mertă's of two adults and seven children. "If he has not got enough rice, I give it to him, whereas if I am lacking, he gives to me," says Rendah. Hence we assume that the division of the crop is done on a friendly basis according to necessity, and if Rendah's household should diminish through the death of the old mother and sister, or the marriage of his daughters, and Mertă's increase with the birth of more children, the ratio could be proportionately altered. But it is hard to tell, when Rendah says he owns two-thirds of the land, whether this is really all his, or whether he is counting with his own Dog's share, since Dog is in the position of a dependent in his household. In this case it is of no particular importance, as Dog has no son to inherit from him.

It will be noted that of the eleven marriages recorded in Rendah's generation, only two were polygynous. Njadet married Dartă, and having no children by her, took his paternal parallel second cousin Njambléh, who gave him one daughter. When she grew up, a sentană marriage was arranged with her cousin Keroenă, who is related to her both on her mother's and on her father's side (fig. 1, II). In the son of this marriage, Njadet has at last got his heir to carry on the line. The other marriage of two wives was when Soewakă, who, as sentană husband to Metoè, had only a daughter, wedded his second cousin Méweh as a second wife, and by her got four sons.

In the preceding generation Klepoeg and Krèbèk had each two wives.

[6] The deed, called pipil, is in writing, engraved upon a leaf of the tal palm. It is tucked away in a safe place, and forgotten. In the case of land which I rented, the search for the pipil lasted six weeks. It was finally discovered in a roof-bamboo of the house of the paternal second-cousin of the "owner."

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Rendah said to me, on the occasion of his daughter's marriage to her cousin, whose house is across the street, "I would rather roegi [take a financial loss] than to have my child marry away from home. If she married in another village, I should have the money, but my heart would be sick."

Such a remark, reflecting a sentiment of paternal devotion, must not be taken only at its face value. The Balinese, like other races, often say things which "sound well," but do not render their complete thought process, and are therefore misleading. It is not to be assumed that a man like Rendah, in giving away his daughter to her cousin, is actually casting to the winds a profit of ten or twenty thousand kepengs, having weighed them as nothing beside the possibility of losing sight of his child. Certainly he would prefer to have her near home. But to have her marry into a family with which he already has an established relation of favors given and received is more satisfactory than to set up a new link with a family of comparative strangers. And if he should accept compensation, he would be sanctioning a system which would not profit him in the end, for might not his own sons then have to pay for their brides? It would seem that these indebtedness relations are best carried on within the family group.

In connection with this it must be mentioned that sister-exchange between parallel cousins, maternal or paternal, is not permitted. This statement was made to me by various informants. None mentioned the prohibition of sister-exchange between cross-cousins, nor between unrelated families. I did not find any reference to sister-exchange in Balinese texts. The term used for the forbidden sister-exchange of parallel cousins is malik-terbalik, meaning a reversal, a going and coming. Malik may be a Balinese form of the root balik, although balik or walik are those commonly used in other connections; terbalik is definitely a Malay form, foreign to the Balinese language. But as many informants speak Malay fluently, and consider it a more polite usage to foreigners, the form of the term is not a proof of the late introduction of the taboo.

The difference in the two marriage schemes, that of the arranged marriage as against the marriage by abduction, reflects on the divorce. A woman may be "thrown away" by her husband for various reasons: she is barren, quarrelsome, or unfaithful. She may either return to her father's house, or, if she has a lover, marry him. Whether or not a payment has been made to the father, the father does not have to make any restitution to the husband in case the marriage fails. But the lover or second husband must in either case pay compensation money to the wronged husband. This is rather more expensive than the cost of an unmarried girl, for besides the cost of the woman, a fine must be paid to the community.

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would give in. After a time she did relent, and when a month had passed, agreed to the purification ceremony, mesakapan, which solemnizes a marriage. But within three days of the ceremony she could stand no more, and again escaped. It was too late to return to her home, especially as her mother and sisters had been in favor of the marriage from the beginning. She ran away to the town, where she lives at the present time, kept by an Arab merchant.

This case suggests that the women can, and sometimes do, rebel against marriages arranged with their cousins. Certainly with the peaceful times under the Dutch administration, when it is safe to visit other villages without fearing assault, and the increased freedom of communication by motor-bus and bicycle, the young people are more apt to resist an unwelcome marriage. There is infinitely more opportunity for a free choice, based on mutual attraction, than there was. In the old days, living in the enforced isolation of the village surrounded by hostile camps, if a girl refused her cousin or neighbor she might get no husband at all. Also, she was the more likely to be pleased with him, so few were the youths of her acquaintance with whom she might compare him.

We have seen that marriages of first and second cousins, both maternal and paternal, are frequent, and that no special distinction is made between parallel and cross-cousins. In Balinese the name for them is the same: misan, first cousin, mindon, second cousin, whether paternal or maternal, whether cross or parallel. Marriages of third cousins are more difficult to trace, as there is no term for them other than the general term for brother, relative, njamă (low Balinese), semotonan (high Balinese).

The ordinary incest taboos are as follows: a man may not have sexual connection with his mother, his sister, his half-sister, or the mother of his half-sister or half-brother (that is, his mother's co-wife). The penalty for this first degree incest, according to records of ancient adat, includes immediate banishment from the formal limits of the village, a great purification ceremony with animal offering to the bad spirits, and sometimes a rite whereby the offending pair are dressed in the yokes worn by pigs, and made to approach on all fours and drink out of a pig's drinking trough.[8] Subsequently the two are to be banished from the village for life and their lands confiscated. As such banishment in the old days left them no recourse but to wander off in the jungle, there to be hunted by wild beasts or to face death from starvation, the punishment amounted in fact to a death sentence. No other village would take in people banished from their own

[8] Recorded as part of the adat of the village Boeoengan, district of Bangli (Ida Bagoes Made Hadipta in Bhāwanāgara, Nos. 4–5, 1933, p. 71).

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835 684 village, lest they bring ill luck and disaster. It can be imagined that the infringement of this incest law has not been frequent.

Less serious punishment falls upon the offenders in second degree incest, which is (1) sexual connection of a man with his aunt, either his father's or his mother's sister; or (2) connection with his first cousin once removed, that is his father's or his mother's first cousin. The first is called reramă dimisan, "mother at (or of) the first cousin," the second reramă dimindon, "mother at (or of) the second cousin." Offenders in these cases are banished [805] [783] from the village for a period of a year (420 days), but are allowed to return to the village after the completion of the necessary purification rites. They spend the intervening year in a hut put up for them on some unholy ground, the graveyard or the crossroads, and are not allowed during that time even to enter the village limits. It will be noted that both relations have the mother element reflected in the terminology, and that the man belongs to the generation younger than the woman, and therefore stands with her as a child to its mother. Similar relations but reversed, as of a man to his niece, or to his first cousin's daughter, are not forbidden, and entail no banishment, according to the old adat. There is here a feeling that the male should be older than the female, as he is her superior, and that he 582 should not marry, or have connection with, a woman belonging to an older 182 generation, even though he might be her senior in actual age. The law also may be based on a desire of the older males to maintain their authority within the household, and to prevent younger males from threatening their authority by marrying into a generation equal to their own. And perhaps it may have originated as a safeguard to the morality of the household during the absence, at work or at war, of the father, the head of the family.

582 895 In connection with the incest laws an exception may be mentioned, that of boy and girl twins, who may marry each other.[9] Among the djabă the birth of such twins is considered a great wrong (manak salah), for the brother and sister are thought to have had a too intimate contact in the womb of their mother. The event will bring famine and disaster upon the entire village, unless averted by the temporary banishment of the children and their parents, followed by great offerings for purification and the propitiation of the evil spirits. When these rites are completed, and the twins have grown up, they may marry, for their incestuous connection is considered to be already atoned for. Since Balinese legendary history contains many examples of boy and girl twins who married and brought forth a tribe, or a line of kings, there is a certain feeling that boy and girl twins

[9] See the author's Rites and Customs Connected with the Birth of Twins in Bali (Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Batavia, September, 1935 [in press]).

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are intended to be man and wife, even though it is wrong for them to be so connected. At the present time it is rare for such twins to marry, although the banishment and propitiatory ceremonies are still widely practiced.

Curiously enough, it is not considered a wrong for very high-caste people to have such twins. But there are many divergences in the customs of the high-caste Balinese from those of the djabă. In passing it may be mentioned that men of the three higher castes may marry women who are djabă, whereas it is a crime for high-caste women to marry or to have relations with a man of lower caste than their own. Offenders used to be either drowned in the sea or banished to another island. Within the past five years the government was forced to deport a Brahmana woman and a djabă man, who, banished from their own village, were refused admittance to all other villages and towns.

The Balinese lontars, sacred texts written on leaves of the tal palm, describe in full the penalties and atonements for the unusual case in family matters: incestuous unions, birth of twins, seductions, suicides, etc. These are the things that are "not done." But for the things that are done, the customary, everyday occurrences, there are no written rules. That is why I have presented this study of a single family in its intimate relations, with the hope that it will give some picture of the family life running its ordinary course.

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9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958) 1959 OF7 Bali OF7

by ad hoc considerations which save the rule, but as providing valuable further clarification of the basic principles of social organization. From Njalian's criss-crossing structure we learn that the various component planes are to a very large degree independent of one another; from Tihingan we learn how the Balinese kinship system works when given full play and how the other planes then adapt to its dominance; from Blaju we learn what increased territorialism and a stress on caste imply for social integration. Each case we confront reveals something new about the implicit potentialities of the typological model we are constructing, sets new bounds on the range of variation possible within it; and it does so mainly not in terms of what is common but rather of what is unusual about it. In the same way that Cromwell has been adjudged the most typical Englishman of his time on the simple basis of his having been the oddest, so the general typological significance of any particular Balinese village lies primarily in its idiosyncracies.

NOTES

[1] The field work upon which this study is based was carried out from August 1957 to July 1958, with a three month break from January to March 1958, under a grant from the social sciences section of the Rockefeller Foundation, administered by the Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. I am indebted to my research assistant E. Rukasah of the Fakultas Pertanian in Bogor, Indonesia, and to my wife Hildred Geertz for significant contributions to this study. This paper was written during a fellowship at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, and I am indebted to many of my colleagues at the Center for their criticism and comments on earlier drafts. For general views of Balinese culture, see Bateson and Mead (1942), Covarrubias (1936) and Korn (1936).

[2] For a more detailed description of Balinese temple forms, see Covarrubias (1936).

[3] A Balinese temple festival is described in detail in Belo (1953).

[4] It is also a legal community in that all the people in a single Kahyangan-Tiga congregation follow the same general rules regarding hamlet membership, marriage, inheritance, cooperative work, etc., rules which differ in detail from Kahyangan-Tiga group to Kahyangan-Tiga group. Sometimes this law community is headed by a Bendesa Adat, or customary law chief, who gives advice and direction on problems of custom. But, again, it is only in the odd case that this customary law community happens to coincide with a concrete political community.

[5] Total Balinese population for 1954 is estimated at 1,500,000, with a mean density around 700 per square mile. In the thickly settled areas of South Bali densities reach up over 1,500 per square mile (Raka 1955).

[6] In the Tabanan area balé are lacking in most hamlets, meetings being held in the open air beneath a banyan tree or in a temple courtyard.

[7] For descriptions of these ceremonies, see Covarrubias (1936).

[8] Only a minority of Sudra, considered to have higher prestige than the mass because of former affinal or political ties to higher status groups, have true address and reference titles. Most Sudra have no address title at all.

[9] In most Balinese villages, marriage is preferentially within the dadia and, if possible, with the father's brother's daughter.

[10] Economic specialization by village still persists to some degree in Bali, and is another factor to be considered in a full analysis of variation in Balinese village structure. It has been ignored here in favor of more formal considerations only for the sake of simplicity.

[11] The only time it has threatened to get completely out of bounds was at the time of the Indonesian general elections in 1955 when each of the two factions went armed in fear of massacre by the other, but no actual violence occurred.

[12] There is a third approach to typologizing, which is particularly prevalent in Dutch studies

[104 cont.]

634 For his exertions on behalf of the soebak, the klian some-
312 times receives a double portion of irrigation water, and, as tax
[651 collector, he receives a part of the income from taxes.
465]

At the head of a number of soebak in one or more dèsa is the sedahan temboekoe, who stands above the various klian and supervises the distribution of the water. At the same time, he looks after the taxes for the prince. Above all of them is the head of the whole water supply, the sedahan agoeng, who holds regular monthly meetings with the several sedahan temboekoe. In 1882, when (in Buleleng) direct governmental administration was introduced, the sedahan temboekoe received a monthly salary of 130 guilders and the title of subcollector.

611 Family Law. On Bali and the Balinese portion of Lombok
[614] (western Lombok) one can speak of a patriarchal family system,
but there is no longer any trace of clan divisions. There is
564 another dividing line, however, that of the caste system. The
greatest cleavage is that between the members of the three high-
est castes, the triwangsa, descendants of overlords, on the one
hand, and the soedra, the subjects, on the other. It is a rule
● [582] that a man may not marry a woman of higher caste; he may,
however, marry a woman of lower caste. One may thus in part
speak here of true endogamy, the prohibition against marrying
outside of one's group, in this case outside of one's class or caste.
Otherwise the marriage and inheritance laws have more in com-
583 mon with those of patriarchal exogamy: the custom of bride
611 price, descent reckoned in the male line (for determining caste
423 membership, only that of the man is considered), inheritance
rights only for the male relatives in the male line, while the
[587] woman is, in theory, part of the inheritance, although this has
not led to levirate marriage.

Formerly, in the case of a death without heirs, the inheri-
tance, after debts and the cost of cremation had been deducted,
went to the dèsa association, later to the prince. This led [105]
833 to very sad consequences; the wives and daughters moved to the
428 royal residence and were simply sent out as prostitutes to increase

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Gorontolo 064 Timor OF20
Ambon 044 Mentawei 009
Bali OF7
Javanese OE5

4. How can legal relations identical to socially determined relations of kinship be created by legal act?

The treatment of these questions brings us up against the tension which exists among many Indonesian peoples, between the conjugal family and the kinship group (the extended family or the sub-clan). Some of this tension will also be evident in the property laws of marriage and inheritance. This tension is old, but it has been intensified more recently by the breaking-off of migrating groups and by the increasing independence of the young people as a result of Western education. This has generally increased the importance of the conjugal family at the expense of the extended family, and continues to do so.

A. THE CHILD-PARENT RELATION

In the first question we put above, a distinction was made between blood relationship as a general concept and the special relation of a child to its parents. This is necessary because, among other reasons, in a patrilineal system the mother's relatives have quite a different significance for the child than the mother. And in a matrilineal system the father's relatives have a different significance than does the father. All sorts of relations, such as the duty to support, right to care, power to dispose in marriage, and in inheritance, exist with the mother as a mother and with the father as a father, but not with them as the closest members of their extended families.

The child born in wedlock has the woman, who brought it into the world, as its mother. Its father is the man, who is married to the mother and who sired the child. In Minahasa, Ambon, Timor and Mentawei the child born out of wedlock has the same relation to its mother as the legitimate child. But elsewhere, there is a strong reaction against the unmarried mother and her child. Originally, both were excommunicated, killed by drowning, or given to a prince as slaves (which made them aliens to the community). There were, and still are, practices, however, which serve to protect the mother and child from such a harsh fate. The man, who was pointed out by a woman as the sire of her child, might be forced to marry her, whether he was engaged to her or not. The "rapat marga" (native court) in South Sumatra, for example, always sentences a man to marry the woman in such a case. The village chiefs in Java try to force marriage; and the judge in Bali punishes the man, if he refuses. There is also the emergency marriage of a pregnant

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woman to an arbitrarily selected man, say, the village chief, in order to make the birth possible in wedlock. The Javanese call it "nikah tambelan," or patch-marriage, and the Buginese dub it "pattongkoq siriq," or shame covering.

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Because effectual excommunication no longer takes place, except occasionally on Nias, the mother and child are tolerated. But the child may be slurringly called a bastard (in Bali, astra; in Javanese, haram jadah). An adat payment is sometimes necessary for permission to stay on in the community, and in Bali acts of legitimatizing may be performed if there are definite reasons. Then the legal relation of child to its unmarried mother is the same as a child born in wedlock. Balinese children, who are born during a period of actual cohabitation prior to the marriage, are considered legitimate.

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Except in Minahasa, the extramarital child has no father, according to adat law. In Minahasa no distinctions between legitimate or illegitimate are drawn in law, but if the father wishes to establish his relation beyond a doubt, when he is not living with the mother, he gives her the present, called "lilikur" (see p. 141). Children of Indonesian Christians can sometimes be legitimatized by marriage and also by virtue of the Ordinance of 1933.[1]

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If a married woman gets a child by another man than her husband, the husband is, nevertheless, the father of the child under adat law, unless he rejects the paternity on acceptable grounds. This is possible in Java, at least. In Minahasa it is again different in that the natural father is recognized as "father," if his paternity is established.

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It does not seem to matter in adat law how long after the conclusion of the marriage contract a child is born. Islamic law, however, requires that at least six months shall have passed, if the birth is to be considered legitimate. It is possible that this rule has had some influence on adat law here and there, but in each case, it is rare. It is definite, however, that it has not influenced the institutions of compulsory and emergency marriage.

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If a child is born after the dissolution of a marriage, the divorced man is its father, providing it is born within nine months of the divorce. This is the adat provision. The Islamic law of four years post-marital liability has not been taken over anywhere.

The children of secondary wives are inferior in status to the chil- 000

[1] Staatsblad, 1933, No. 74.

of the rights, and his inclusion only as the procreator of the daughter's progeny.

Conversion of an adoptive marriage into a bride-price marriage or a bilateral one is possible in South Sumatra, for example.

The adoption of a girl into her husband's family, when the inheritance of heirlooms must be through a daughter, is reported as "semendo-ngankit" marriage from the Semendo region of South Sumatra. It also appears on the frontiers of the Minangkabau-Mandailing territory. Here a man, whose family has run out of women through whom the lineage must be continued, pays a bride-price for a Batak woman, whom he then adopts into his Minangkabauan family.

3. CHILD MARRIAGE

Marriages between biologically immature children are permissible under adat law in most law-areas. They are absent in some places, however, as in Korinchi, on Roti, and among the Torajas. In Bali, marriage of a pre-adolescent girl is punishable.

Mohammedanism sets up no objection to child marriages. Commonly, in child marriages the Mohammedan marriage takes place first, and the marriage in accordance with adat law takes place only when cohabitation is possible. The great weight which kin groups place on the bond established through marriage makes it understandable that even unborn children may be promised to a desirable partner and are bound in marriage when very young.

When the natives accept Christianity, it is a different thing. Nubility is required for marriage. Article 4 of the Staatsblad, 1933, No. 74, of the Regulation for Christian Natives of Java, Ambon and Minahasa formulates the same requirement.

In child marriage neither party is full-grown. This must be kept distinct from the kind of marriage in which the husband moves into the girl's household and works for his parents-in-law, but postpones marital cohabitation with his girl-wife until she is of age.

4. POLYGYNY

Marriage to several wives at the same time is permissible among most of the Indonesians, but it is rare for the great mass of the people. It is common only among the higher classes.

Prohibition of polygyny is infrequent. The Tnganan Pagringsingan of Bali are one people who do not countenance it.

Acceptance of Christianity entails monogamy, and monogamy is